Failure of Leadership—*Willard Shelton*

THE Nation

March 17, 1951

STUART CHASE

Paths to Labor Peace

*

Neutralism: France's Common Ground

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

*

The St. Lawrence Seaway

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

*

"From Here to Eternity"

A MINORITY REPORT BY ERNEST JONES

MAR 17 1951

20 CENTS A COPY | EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 | 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Your Family, Your Community, Your Nation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MARCH 17, 1951 NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

ERNEST BEVIN IS A MAN WHO HATES TO admit defeat by physical weakness, or anything else, and who believes firmly in his indispensability. So it was with great reluctance that he agreed to lay down the burdens of the Foreign Office, and even then he postponed his formal decision while he pressed for the appointment of James Griffiths, Colonial Secretary, to whom he hoped to act as mentor. But in the end he had to yield to the party and personal claims of Herbert Morrison, his old rival, who will hardly welcome Mr. Bevin's guidance. This does not mean that there will be major changes in British foreign policy. Although the new Foreign Secretary may be more acceptable to Labor's left-wing than his predecessor, he is well to the right of center and as firm an opponent of communism as Bevin himself. He has a more agile mind and in negotiation is likely to display a better tactical sense, greater resourcefulness, and less rigidity. Some have questioned his knowledge of international affairs, but it is certainly not less than that of Mr. Bevin in 1945. With his acute ear for political dissonance Mr. Morrison may attempt to restate British policy in terms which will placate those—by no means all left-wingers—who believe Downing Street has become subservient to Washington. He will undoubtedly emphasize that the cornerstone of British foreign policy is continued cooperation with the United States, the Commonwealth, and Western Europe for the purpose of blocking any extension of Soviet power. But he might well suggest to this country the importance of distinguishing between leadership and dictatorship. Plain talk would be a real service to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which can prosper only if it is a genuine partnership.

*

THE FOUR-POWER TALKS IN PARIS HAVE now entered their second week, and so far this fact is the only justification for the hope that an agenda for the subsequent Conference of Foreign Ministers may still be worked out. As might have been expected, discussion centers on Germany. The struggle for the enlargement or the restrictions of the agenda, the anticipated opposition to the discussion of an Austrian peace treaty, the raising of a new item, Trieste—none of these should mislead the public about the real substance of the dispute. In this preliminary stage both Russia and the West have attempted to impose their respective views regarding Germany in order to prevent the other side from arriving at the Conference of Foreign Ministers with a positive gain. Russia clings to the Potsdam decisions, which the West now considers obsolete. The West with equal tenacity is trying to protect the Brussels agreement, which reserves the possibility of incorporating West Germany into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Should the positions taken at present by both sides prove final agreement on an agenda will be almost impossible. However, certain concessions were made during the first week by both sides, minimal as they were and of a procedural rather than a substantial character. These modest achievements may inspire a new effort to get a little closer on more significant matters. This will require great patience and ingenuity and, above all, the realization that if the present meeting fails, the situation created will be the most explosive of recent years.

*

THE ASSASSINATION OF GENERAL ALI Razmara, the Persian Prime Minister, has seriously threatened Britain's stake in Persia, which is centered in the immensely profitable Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Prime Minister was a hardworking and capable official in a country where most politicians feel that making poetry-laden speeches completely discharges their responsibilities. He never tried the Middle Eastern trick of cashing in on the cold war by exaggerating Soviet threats in order to get American grants. When he took office last June, the American Embassy, which had helped drum up support for him, was overjoyed. But the joy abated when Persian radio stations stopped using Voice of America programs, and the Seven Year Development Plan, masterminded by leading American engineering firms, was shelved. Then, after some determined haggling, Razmara signed a £7,000,000 trade agreement with the Soviets because he felt that Iran could do little to stop the Red Army should it be ordered to march and that it could get little immediate support from either the United States or Britain.

*

THESE CONCILIATORY ACTIONS COINCIDED with Britain's desire for peaceful conditions in Persia so that exploitation of the South Persian oil fields could continue undisturbed. In July, 1949, the Anglo-Iranian

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 241
Korea: Double Stalemate 243
Interest and Inflation 244

ARTICLES

Failure of Leadership *by Willard Shelton* 245
Pontiff and Peace *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 246
Neutralism: France's Common Ground *by Alexander Werth* 247
Paths to Labor Peace *by Stuart Chase* 250
Everybody's Business: The St. Lawrence Seaway, I *by Keith Hutchison* 253

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Minority Report *by Ernest Jones* 254
Problems of 1861 *by Oscar Handlin* 255
Cycles and Controls *by Charles E. Noyes* 256
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 256
Books in Brief 257
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 257
Facts on Film *by Mary Anne Guitar* 258
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 258

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 260

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 404 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 260

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Contributing Editor: Robert Bendiner
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting
Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Mary Simon
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Oil Company had negotiated a new agreement, which gave the Persian government almost as good terms as any Middle Eastern country has secured but which had not been ratified because the company is the favorite whipping boy of Persian nationalists. Britain believed that Razmara could steer this new agreement through the Parliament. But when Razmara backed the proposal he was accused of "selling out" to Britain and of scheming to make himself military dictator. Popular resentment was worked up by the fantatically anti-foreign *Fadaian Islam* (Those Ready to Die for Islam) headed by the chief priest of Persia, Sheik Syed Abdul Ghahem Kashani, who in December demanded nationalization of the oil company. Razmara opposed this, saying that Persia did not have the technical ability to run the huge venture. He withdrew the agreement and seemed on the point of dissolving Parliament when Kashani's assassin struck. Now aroused nationalist passions may shake Persia's precarious stability and destroy Britain's biggest dollar producer in the Middle East.

*

THE DECISION OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON Un-American Activities to reopen the 1947 inquiry into Communist infiltration in the motion-picture industry is strategically maladroit as well as anti-climatic and absurd. Groups in the industry which have cooperated with the committee in the past are placed in a position of acute embarrassment. Having taken credit for the purge which came in the wake of the 1947 inquiry, they are indignant over the committee's lack of confidence in their activities. In 1947 left-wing organizations defended the industry; today the right-wing Motion Picture Alliance steps forward to deny the charge of "communist" infiltration. The Alliance contends that there were never many Communists in Hollywood; that most of the "subversives" were "screened out" after 1947—thanks largely to its efforts; and that the few who remain have been getting "fewer and fewer jobs." Even if the screening process does not constitute anything so vicious as a "black list," a "gray list" of the type described in an earlier issue of *The Nation* (Hollywood Gray List, November 19, 1949) has admittedly prevailed in Hollywood since 1947. Spokesmen for the Alliance point out that procedures have had to be established by which persons in the industry "may rid themselves of the red stigma," but they would probably concede that it is easier to apply than to remove this stigma; witness the predicament in which Edward G. Robinson finds himself. Since the current embarrassment of the Alliance is doubtless due to a temporary break-down of liaison with the House Committee caused by a change in personnel, the present investigation is likely to be called off. Senator McCarran has said, however, that the Senate Judiciary Committee also intends to rework the Hollywood diggings, and this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

investigation, with the aid of television, which has made the Kefauver Committee hearings the best show of the year, promises to be a lively affair.

*

LARGE EMPLOYERS OF FARM LABOR IN California have suddenly become intensely interested in human distress in South Korea and the pressure of population on resources in Japan. Spokesmen for these employers have induced the California Congressional delegation to study the possibility of bringing in Japanese and South Korean workers to relieve the manpower shortage expected next summer. It would be a mistake to dismiss this proposal as fanciful or to assume that it will be tabled as another manifestation of an obscene lust for cheap labor. Their schemes for importing labor from Mexico and Hawaii having met with strong objections, the California employers are quite capable of committing their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to this or some still more desperate man-hunting expedition. Say what you will of California's mass-producers of agricultural products, they must be given credit for the bold and imaginative way in which they try to solve their labor problems.

*

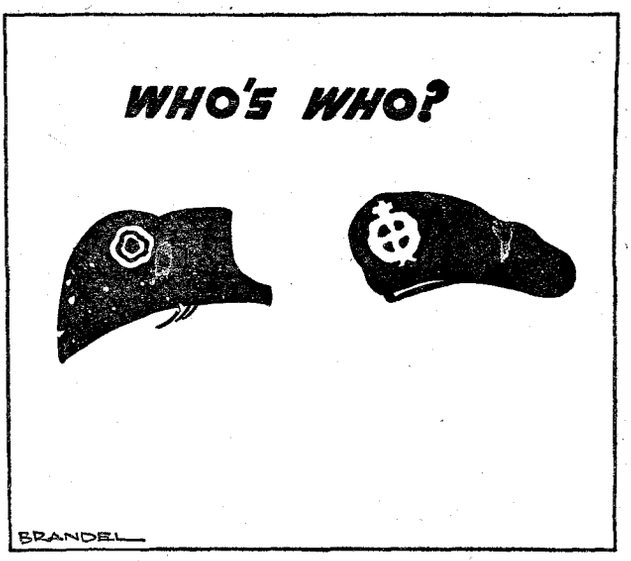
CALIFORNIA'S CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTOR recently suggested that the population of metropolitan Los Angeles should build backyard family bomb shelters on "Saturday afternoons and Sundays." The response would indicate that the residents of Los Angeles are not in a particularly warlike mood. Mayor Fletcher Bowron, who lives on a hillside, thinks "most of the damage will be done to flatland homes" and so has not yet started to dig his cave. A local judge feels that "when the bombs stop dropping, I'll start digging—and not until then. I think it was this kind of hysteria that was responsible for the Korean débâcle." A service station operator complains, "I had an awful time trying to get three sacks of cement for my yard." A shop-owner feels shelters are useless: "If you get hit, that's the end, shelter or no shelter." A patrolman objects to the cost: "I simply can't afford it." A clerk feels that if there is any real danger, the thing to do is to drop the H-bomb on the Russians. Others complain that they haven't the remotest idea how to build a shelter; even a contractor says that it would be necessary to hire an engineer to interpret the Atomic Energy Commission's specifications. What these and similar comments reflect, of course, is the common-sense realization that neat, compact, backyard family shelters, which cost from $3,500 to $4,500, are not exactly practical. If any considerable number were built, the drain on building materials would soon reach insupportable proportions. Some officials have charged the public with being indifferent. But it is not; it is simply baffled.

Interest and Inflation

CEASE-FIRE arrangement has brought to a halt the protracted and often acrimonious battle between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve Board. The two institutions, according to a communiqué issued on March 3, "have reached full accord with respect to debt management and monetary policies to be pursued in furthering their common purpose to assure successful financing of the government's requirements and . . . to minimize the monetization of the public debt."

The real issue between them has been which of these two objectives should have priority. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, whose job it is to manage the public debt at the lowest possible cost, has been trying to hold the maximum long-term rate of interest to 2½ per cent and has insisted that the Federal Reserve support the government bond market at levels corresponding to this rate. On the face of it, this may seem a policy which overburdened taxpayers should approve. With the federal debt exceeding $250 billion, an increase in interest rates averaging one-half per cent would add $1¼ billion to the annual cost of carrying the debt, which is already approaching $6 billion. Moreover, the Treasury claims that the financial world has become adjusted to the existing interest rates. If they were allowed to climb, billions of dollars' worth of bonds would fall below par, with a disturbing effect on balance-sheets and, perhaps, a rush by investors to cut their losses by dumping government securities on the market.

The question is whether the Treasury is saving on the swings of interest only to lose a great deal more on the roundabouts of inflation. The Federal Reserve Board concedes that it has a duty to assist in the preservation of an orderly market for government bonds: it stands ready to prevent violent fluctuations in their prices by selling and buying through its Open Market Committee. But the



[For answer see page 244]

Library
STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

board has another responsibility imposed on it by Congress—the responsibility of regulating the national supply of credit—and it cannot meet this obligation if, under pressure from the Treasury, it is committed to underwriting a fixed pattern of interest rates. For to do this it must stand ready to buy all bonds offered below a pre-determined price, which means that government securities become in a sense demand notes that can be turned into cash without risk of capital loss.

In defending his policy Mr. Snyder declared on January 19 that it was a "delusion" to suppose "that fractional changes in interest rates can be effective in fighting inflation." He is right to the extent that under present conditions, when opportunities for profit-making are plentiful, few potential borrowers will be discouraged by a charge of 3 instead of 2½ per cent. But that is not really the point. The present credit inflation, which is a major element in a price rise costing the government billions of dollars, is a result, not of the low prevailing rate of interest, but of the artificial support of the bond market necessary to maintain that rate.

Ever since the outbreak of the Korean war, the commercial banks, faced by a strong demand for loans from credit-worthy clients, have been selling government bonds in order to add to their supply of loanable funds. Owing to the Treasury's insistence that long-term bonds be held above par, the residual buyer of these bonds has been the Federal Reserve, which, in paying for its purchases, has added to the deposits of the banks and enlarged four- to five-fold their capacity to lend. Thanks to this "monetization of the public debt" total loans of Federal Reserve member banks have risen by over $7½ billion in the past year—a major contribution to inflation.

To what extent the agreement between the Treasury and the Federal Reserve system will check this process remains to be seen. Evidently Mr. Snyder has made concessions, for he has agreed to issue a new 2¾ per cent non-marketable bond maturing in 1980, to be offered in exchange for the existing 2½ per cent bonds of 1967-72—the largest of the long-term issues. It is hoped that the inducement of an extra ¼ per cent interest will persuade the owners of these bonds—mostly insurance companies and savings banks—to make the exchange so that this section of the debt can be "frozen." The new bonds, however, will not be completely illiquid, for holders will be given the option of converting into one-to-five year negotiable notes at 1½ per cent interest.

This ingenious arrangement has been favorably received. The first response of the market was, indeed, to sell the 2½s heavily and on March 5, 6, and 7, the Federal Reserve bought in large amounts at 100 22/32. On March 8, however, all support was withdrawn and the market left to its own devices. At first the price dropped almost to par but, following the announcement of the terms of the conversion option, big institutional buyers appeared and quotations steadied. There is good reason to hope, therefore, that the exchange offer will prove a success bringing about a shrinkage in the marketable portion of the debt which will make the whole much more manageable.

However, this move will have very little effect on the large commercial bank holdings of government securities, which are mostly in the form of shorter-dated issues, and it remains to be seen how much freedom the Federal Reserve will be allowed in seeking to check the sale of such securities. It will, it has made it clear, stand by its undertaking to maintain an orderly market but that should not prevent it from lowering quotations enough to penalize those banks which seek to expand their credit-giving capacity by liquidating government securities. For the knowledge that such penalties can, and will, be exacted, should do much to reinforce the voluntary agreement among banks to restrict credit expansion that the government is promoting.

Answer to Who's Who?—Napoleon, Montgomery

Korea: Double Stalemate

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S latest statement may have changed the minds of those who had discounted predictions of a long, indecisive, and in the end senseless struggle in Korea. "Assuming no diminution of the enemy's flow of ground forces and matériel to the Korean battle area, a continuation of the existing limitation upon our freedom of counter-offensive action, and no major additions to our organizational strength, the battle lines cannot fail in time to reach a point of theoretical military stalemate. The general certainly cannot be called a pessimist, for only three months ago he was announcing the end of the war before Christmas. His statement should dampen any recently renewed hopes that the progress of the United Nations forces might continue unchecked.

This prospect is paralleled by the existing diplomatic stalemate. Nothing going on in the United Nations suggests any such change of policy as was hinted at by General MacArthur. What the general asked for, in effect, was the authority to bomb the "privileged sanctuary" of Chinese forces in Manchuria, and to muster more troops to balance the military scales. As to the first, the United Nations Special Measures Committee, which for the past five weeks has been considering the problem of sanctions, shows no disposition whatever to approve the bombing of the China mainland, or indeed to apply any sort of sanctions. Many delegates are also convinced that the Thirty-eighth Parallel should not be crossed a second time and have made that opinion known to the United States. As to the question of troops, only deaf ears have been turned to the suggestion of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, presented by the United States, that England,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

France, Holland, and the Latin American countries put additional men at General MacArthur's disposal.

The reluctance of important member nations to send more troops of their own is not based on mere self-interest but on the conviction that, short of risking World War III, there is not the slightest possibility of settling the conflict with Communist China solely through the use of arms. The Korean campaign has convinced the majority of the United Nations that even if MacArthur's forces were increased to a number which would enable him to push the enemy back over the Manchurian border, the Communists would sooner or later regroup and reinvade Korea, and that the process could go on indefinitely with never a clear-cut, final decision.

Unable to offer a military solution to the problem raised by the Supreme Commander in Korea, the United Nations has put its last hope in a kind of miraculous change in the diplomatic aspects of the conflict. But here the outlook is equally somber. Communist China continues to ignore the Good Offices Committee (Iran, Sweden, Mexico) charged with the task of opening negotiations with a power which has been branded an aggressor and treated as an international outlaw by the organization which now addresses it in the name of international law. The only miracle for which the United Nations can hope is a change in the general international situation—an agreement at Paris and later in the Four Power talks—which might have a favorable indirect effect in Peking.

This is the situation in the ninth month of the Korean war. And so it will continue, perhaps for months and possibly years, unless the Asiatic policy of this country, in and out of the United Nations, is reshaped in accordance with reality. Those who looked on the branding of Communist China as a victory, may now revise their view.

Failure of Leadership

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, March 8

THE most sensational of the recent charges against the Truman Administration are provided by the Fulbright committee's exposure of the pressures, conspiracies, and cheap graft connected with the operations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. More serious, I think, is the accumulating evidence that the Administration is tired and worn-out, perhaps incapable of a sustained liberal urge. The President's Cabinet and staff are weaker in brains and zest than they have been at any time since Mr. Truman's early months in the White House; his ablest assistants have either departed or lost their effectiveness; initiative has been yielded to the worst elements of the Republican Party. Here is the cause of the loss of public and Congressional confidence which was reflected in the Administration's partial defeat on the troops-for-Europe issue in the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services committees. Other defeats stemming from the same source may follow.

The RFC inquiry has revealed enough chicanery to justify doubt about the moral standards of many persons involved. Of course Democrats have not been the only ones to try to influence RFC procedures on loans and foreclosures, nor is Senator Murray, who intervened to obtain loans for hotels represented in Washington by his lawyer son, the only member of Congress whose conduct regarding loan applications might seem of questionable propriety. Two weeks ago Senator Fulbright wanted to obtain a file of Congressional letters to the RFC compiled by the White House, but he is no longer eager to publish it. The investigation has heard witnesses whose lack of candor or outright lying was painfully obvious. The White House was involved when Donald S. Dawson, one of the President's administrative aides, displayed a remarkable reluctance to appear voluntarily after the committee had revealed that on several occasions he had accepted free accommodations from a luxurious Miami Beach hotel which had borrowed money from the RFC. Merl Young, a former RFC examiner and a regular rags-to-riches character, has been repeatedly accused of connivance and influence-peddling; yet he has continued to enjoy free access to the White House because his wife works there.

The Administration's evident lack of ideas, enthusiasm, and affirmative morale is probably due in part to McCarthy's violent attacks last year. The men around Truman are punch-drunk and frightened. How else can one explain Secretary Acheson's appeasement of McCarthy by refusing to make a fight for Senate confirmation of John Carter Vincent as ambassador to Costa Rica? This was the job for which Vincent was scheduled, but he was hastily demoted to Tangier—a minor post for one of his experience and talents—simply because his assignment to Tangier required no confirmation. A career diplomat, assailed by McCarthy but repeatedly cleared by the State Department's own loyalty board, Vincent was sacrificed without a struggle. Mr. Acheson has not only exchanged a sound Far Eastern policy for the ideas of Senator Knowland but is allowing his enemies to dictate appointments within his department.

A slick young public-relations man named Jon Jonkel publicly warned the Democrats this week that they were "stuck" with the suspicions aroused by McCarthy's charges that they had whitewashed the State Department after he had accused it of Communist leanings. Mr. Jonkel, who managed Senator John M. Butler's dirty but successful campaign to unseat Millard Tydings in Maryland, blandly told an investigating committee that the Democrats would never live down the doubts stirred up, any more than the Republicans had lived

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down Democratic slogans blaming Herbert Hoover for all the apple vendors during the great depression. "The doubt exists," Jonkel proclaimed. "We don't even have to mention it any more." Of course the doubt exists when the Democrats refuse to stand up and fight, to recognize the menace of McCarthy's tirades and innuendoes, and to expose and challenge him at every opportunity. The Vincent episode suggests that the State Department is becoming as cowardly as was Secretary of Commerce Sawyer last year when he fired two employees under Congressional attack even as he cleared them of charges of disloyalty.

The men on whom Mr. Truman must rely for ideas and initiative are not to be compared in tactical wisdom or sound grasp of policy to the brilliant men who surrounded Roosevelt. No one is in the same class with Clark Clifford, whose patience, determination, and understanding were enormous assets to Truman himself during Clifford's tenure as special counsel. John R. Steelman, the President's special assistant, used to be an excellent labor-disputes conciliator, but his cautious, calculating approach is no help to the President today. Stephen Spingarn, the able Congressional liaison aide who fought the McCarran bill last year, is now in limbo, serving on the Federal Trade Commission. Dawson, whose first obligation surely is to conduct himself so as not to bring reproach on the President, apparently relies on Mr. Truman's famous "loyalty" to friends and is resolved to stay out of the Fulbright committee's clutches. Charles Murphy, Clifford's successor as special counsel, is generally credited with sound judgment and good motives but lacks forcefulness. Down the line are a number of able people whose abilities and convictions are not easily brought to bear directly; the staff in general suffers from a surfeit of senior advisers with more personal ambition and political cynicism than principle.

The Fulbright committee's revelations have been distressing partly because the evils exposed have been so petty, the kind that flourish in the atmosphere of a state capitol. It is disgusting to see RFC examiners and White House aides acting as if they had no more concern for the proprieties than wardheeling local politicians. No major graft or bribery or betrayal of trust has yet been shown—nor, for that matter, any RFC manipulations comparable to the loan of $85,000,000 twenty years ago to bail out the Dawes bank just after Charles G. Dawes had resigned as chairman of the RFC. It would be pleasant if Mr. Truman would fire a few of his friends instead of being uniformly "loyal," but the Fulbright investigators will have accomplished their main purpose if the RFC reorganization plan goes through.

The other thing—the Administration's weakness in affirmative ideas and fighting spirit—is at the heart of its present trouble. It is preposterous that an important foreign-policy battle should have been lost to Hoover and Senator Wherry, even if only temporarily and through a committee vote. The Administration can never regain the initiative while it lets McCarthy grin in triumph over a bloodless victory.

Pontiff and Peace

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE Vatican has again entered the field of politics. Its letter to Frédéric Joliot-Curie, French atomic scientist and president of the Moscow-sponsored World Peace Council, which was published with much fanfare in *l'Osservatore Romano* on March 6, is interesting from several points of view. On the same day the story also appeared in the New York papers—the *Herald Tribune* running it under the heading, "Reply to Joliot-Curie notes 'Pleasure' at Recognition of Papal Peace Efforts," and the *Times*, with a quite different emphasis, "Vatican Scorns Bid by Red 'Peace' Body." This is a small example of how the same event can be interpreted in different ways by different papers, but it explains why American readers have difficulty in evaluating the significance of foreign news.

In the case in question the *Herald Tribune* emphasis was the correct one. The papal Under Secretary of State, Monsignor Montini, wrote to M. Joliot-Curie, who was dismissed from the French government last year because of his Communist sympathies, that the Pope had examined his letter "very closely" and noted with pleasure its recognition that the Vatican had repeatedly proclaimed the necessity for establishing peace "by proceeding seriously and honestly to a progressive and adequate limitation of armaments."

This exchange of letters gains new interest when considered in connection with other papal pronouncements made in the last few months. On December 6 Pius XII called on Roman Catholics throughout the world to start a series of prayers for peace. In an encyclical letter addressed to Catholic bishops he expressed grave anxiety over the international tension and laid special emphasis on the fact that his appeal for peace was directed to all nations and not to any one bloc. On January 1 the Pontiff appealed again to the Western powers and the Soviet Union to negotiate a settlement of their differences and thus eliminate the scourge of war from the world. And on the same date the Vatican made use of the columns of *l'Osservatore Romano* and the expert pen of its editor, Count della Torre, to refute the accusation of *Unità*, the Communist organ, that it was backing the aggressive policy of the West and that the reason for its "warmongering" was its conviction that war offered the only hope of defeating communism. People in Italy were amazed by the courteous and moderate tone in which the Vatican paper conducted the discussion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Clearly these utterances were inspired by the Vatican's desire not to appear to be the thirteenth power of the Atlantic coalition. Since the tension between Russia and the West has been aggravated by developments in Korea and the intervention of the Chinese Communists, the Pope has revealed the same purpose in other ways—for instance, by failing to receive General Eisenhower.

The importance of this shift should not be underestimated. It cannot be attributed to any change in the Vatican's attitude on politics. The present Pope is not a liberal like Leo XIII or aloof from public affairs. To realize how actively involved he is, and where his real sympathies lie, one need only recall the vigor with which he intervened in the French and Italian election campaigns in 1946, placing himself squarely on the side of reaction and contributing effectively to the victory of the rightist parties. Wherever a reactionary dictator is in power the church is behind him, even when, as in Spain, the gradual deterioration of the regime inclines the Vatican to adopt a certain reserve. In Paris the other day Monsignor Feltin demanded the liberation of Marshal Pétain in such a stirring sermon that his audience broke into applause—perhaps the first time this has ever happened in the venerable cathedral of Notre Dame.

But the Pope is too intelligent not to know that the stand of the Vatican on the internal policy of any country is one thing and the allegation that it is promoting war quite another. The Holy See cannot afford to renounce the principle of reconciliation as the basis of its international policy. It recognizes the danger of allowing its silence to be interpreted as unconditional approval of a diplomacy which frequently gives the impression of trying to prevent agreement or of abandoning hope of a peaceful settlement. So by means of discreet whispers, designed to be overheard in diplomatic circles, the Vatican is reanimating various influential Catholic groups which favor conciliation. Knowing that, traditionally, French diplomacy is the most subtle, it has lately been cultivating especially the clerical elements in the Quai d'Orsay. Since November the French have been advising their allies not to indulge so freely in controversy and not to treat every Russian communication as an excuse for a new quarrel.

Because its power depends on spiritual rather than atomic weapons, the Vatican must take account of popular feeling. It observes how the least sign of progress toward peace is seized upon with joy by the man in the street, and especially by women, whose sons will pay with their lives for diplomatic mistakes; the proportion of women in the Catholic church should not be forgotten. The Vatican's present pacifism is but one more expression of the widespread conviction that war should not be contemplated until every possibility of finding a modus vivendi has been explored by the two opposing blocs. It may be argued that this is an opportunist pacifism, but the adjective itself shows how irresistible is the people's desire for peace.

Neutralism: France's Common Ground

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, March 3

THE morning after the Pleven government fell, my news vendor remarked: "Funny thing, isn't it? When a government fell in the past, I used to sell 25 or 30 per cent more newspapers than usual; this morning I haven't sold an extra copy. One would think nobody gave a damn." This indifference is partly due, I should say, to the conviction that whatever the next government may be, it will look like the last one; that the Third Force, conformist in its "Atlantic" policy, will continue as before for the next few months, and that economic difficulties will pile up.

A vague resentment is felt everywhere against M. Pleven for two reasons: he refused to do anything about these economic difficulties, trying, instead, to square the circle of electoral reform; and his foreign policy could not have been more timid or less imaginative. The 1951 budget has not yet been passed; the war in Indo-China—for whose good?—threatens to develop into a wholesale massacre after the Korean model; any serious attempt to get France to play a leading part in easing the tension between East and West is now treated as "neutralist" or crypto-Communist heresy. Nor can anyone be particularly proud of the "solution" of the Moroccan crisis or of the recent trial of Algerian nationalists, which took place *in camera*—some of the accused, according to *L'Observateur*, had to be brought in on stretchers, so thoroughly had they been "interrogated" by the police.

Meanwhile the cost of living is increasing; last week subway, bus, and taxi fares in Paris went up; food prices are rising. The scarcity of raw materials, about which

ALEXANDER WERTH, a staff contributor, begins with this article a series on French reactions to the cold war. In the next he will analyze the attitude of labor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pleven did nothing when he went to Washington, is having an effect on all production, including that of newspapers; the *Monde,* rather than look for subsidies, has been driven by the cost of newsprint to raise its price 50 per cent, from ten to fifteen francs. An editorial note said that it was the only way to preserve the paper's independence.

At the same time a dangerous feeling of resignation can be observed in many quarters, even among the working class—the feeling that war is inevitable sooner or later and that France might as well be on the side of the Americans and their atom bombs. Persistent press and radio propaganda has not been without effect, and one of the most pathetic confessions of impotence has been made by a man who in the past, notably during the occupation, was noted for a good deal of moral courage. I mean François Mauriac, who wrote recently in *Figaro:*

> The tragedy of all of us is to live in a disillusioned country. In four years France has passed from the rank of a great nation to that of an assisted nation; why deny it when it is a fact? Neutralism is nothing more than a hankering for the kind of autonomy that has been condemned by the facts of our present situation. In their childish rage the neutralists kick the table.

That just about sums up the cheerless pro-Americanism of the conservative bourgeoisie, which was heavily represented in the Pleven government and which, in fact, imposed its point of view on the Socialist and left-wing M.R.P. members. No doubt there was a good deal of play-acting in Pleven's "pro-Americanism," enough at any rate to make the Gaullists call his government a neutralist government in disguise, curtsying to Washington in order to get the Americans to pay some of the costs of the war in Indo-China and a large part of France's rearmament bill.

ANOTHER reproach made by the Gaullists against Pleven was that his anti-communism was not as tough as he pretended. With the Communists still representing 25 to 30 per cent of the country, the government clearly preferred for the moment to resort to intimidation rather than to large-scale repression. It is widely believed that the Communist Party will be outlawed and driven underground, but by the next Parliament, not this one. The Pleven government has been content to purge the administration of Communists, to deport without trial numerous Spanish Communists and other republicans, to get the police to tear down Communist posters against German rearmament, and to let them beat up everyone—even deportees in their striped Buchenwald overalls—who demonstrated against Eisenhower or the presence of German generals at the recent "European army" talks.

It is very hard to say what exactly is happening inside the Communist Party, but one has the impression that these small beginnings of persecution have stiffened the hard core of the militants. The Magnani-Cucchi defection in Italy has had no perceptible effect; the Clementis affair may have set many Communists wondering, but Titoism seems never to have been less of a threat to the French party than now. Being America's debtor, Tito has been forced to play down both his "communism" and his "neutralism," which has made him, ideologically, much less interesting than he was at first.

Nothing would be more foolish than to imagine that France is divided into a huge, conformist, pro-American majority and a small, anti-American, Communist minority. To ignore French neutralism is to ignore what is, on an intellectual plane, perhaps the most significant movement in France today. It has often been said that at heart every Frenchman is a neutralist—even General de Gaulle was a "neutralist" in 1945 when he thought that France could become the nucleus of a grouping attached to neither Russia nor America—but many feel that France is now too closely bound up with America to depart from the Atlantic Pact.

IT WAS to combat this "it's too late" feeling that a meeting which may, historically, prove a turning-point was held on March 1 at the Mutualité, one of the largest halls in Paris. The room was packed when the meeting was opened by Professor Rivet, one of the founders of the Popular Front and now representing a non-Communist left-wing group in the Assembly. Rivet spoke with some nostalgia of the Popular Front days and said he hoped that this "inaugural" neutralist meeting would lead, as the similar Popular Front meeting over which he had presided in the same hall in 1934 had done, to a great nation-wide movement. What was striking about the meeting was the determination of all the speakers to dissociate themselves from the Communists. This was true of speakers who like Claude Bourdet are distinctly anti-Communist and of those who like Pierre Cot stick to the time-honored French maxim that "there are no enemies on the left." In neutralism these men had found a common ground, and they felt it filled a crying need of the country.

All the speakers emphasized that if the Atlantic policy, complete with German rearmament, was allowed to continue, war would become inevitable and France would be destroyed. Jacques Nantet and others pointed out that it was not necessary for France to be economically dependent on the United States, from which it now bought or received half its raw materials. It could, instead, become economically attached to the sterling bloc and, to a lesser extent, to Eastern Europe. Marshall aid represented less than 2 per cent of its national income. The war in Indo-China cost France as much; by pulling out of Indo-China, France could easily dispense

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with Marshall aid. Independence was worth more to France than this 2 per cent. Charles d'Aragon said German rearmament, a provocation to Russia, was an inevitable part of the Atlantic Pact. Niemöller, and not Adenauer, represented the predominant German mood. Gilles Martinet of *L'Observateur* warned that the present policy was dividing France into two hostile camps. The aim of the electoral reform was to reduce Communist representation, after which the party would be outlawed. The working class would then be more and more mercilessly exploited, and the Communists would gain enormously. Either an American or a Russian occupation would lead to civil war in France and to mass persecutions and killings. According to Pierre Cot, France would be no worse off without allies, and the danger of war would be immeasurably less. The number of American troops to be sent here could not stop the Russians and would only provoke them. A small American army would run just as fast to the Pyrenees as a French army left to itself.

In Cot's view the Franco-American honeymoon was over, and the sooner France got a divorce, even without Marshall aid alimony, the better. Neutralism to Cot was not a political theory or doctrine but a political attitude which today suited France better than any other. It did not mean that France must leave the U. N. But it did mean independence, freedom to choose, and to examine every question on its merits. There would be no harm in a pact with America similar to the Franco-Soviet pact, but France must not belong to any vast bloc, either Russian or American. If France, this past year, had been more independent, it could have supported Nehru, and peace would already have been saved in Asia. And how much greater France's prestige would have been! France should itself decide what proportion of its budget to spend on armaments and what proportion on social and economic improvements. Finally, the Atlantic Pact, with its fanatical anti-communism, was paving the way for fascism; all feeling of national unity was being destroyed. Another speaker said that in the coming election every parliamentary candidate must clearly state his attitude to neutralism.

This latest attempt to crystallize politically, and by means of a nation-wide propaganda drive, the anti-war feeling in France may be one of the most important things to watch. It has heavy odds against it, of course;

"LIKE TO START SOMETHING WHILE WE'RE WAITING?"

London *Daily Herald*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

except for the *Monde*, which is vaguely sympathetic to the movement, the bulk of the press is hostile; so will be every Third Force government, Socialist ministers included. The Communist attitude is ambiguous: "It has its points, but too many doubtful people support it," the Communist *Nouvelle Critique* said the other day. Even so, neutralism has a lot of potential support among all classes, and the chief question is whether, politically, the movement will be able to assume a sufficiently tangible and practical form to affect the "line" of the French governments of coming months.

One of the neutralists' arguments was that their policy was, ultimately, in the interests of the United States. Their policy was to avoid war, and was not that what the peace-loving majority of the American people wanted?

Paths to Labor Peace

BY STUART CHASE

AS MASS transport and mass communication push the citizens of this unhappy planet ever closer together in the seventh year of the atomic age, I have been looking around for techniques of agreement. What methods and structures have social scientists and others discovered which might help us get along together better? We may or may not be our brothers' keepers, but we are increasingly in our brothers' laps.

The Quakers have a remarkable technique for reaching unanimous agreement in their business decisions, which has stood the test for three hundred years. The TVA has an equally remarkable method for getting on with the people of the Valley. The new studies in group dynamics give very promising leads. Semantics can be helpful in reducing certain kinds of conflict. Unesco's analysis of international conferences has good possibilities. And so on.

In the perpetual laboratory of labor-management relations, many unions, universities, business executives, are hard at work developing techniques. Some of the results have been spectacular, and I would like to tell you about one or two of them. First, however, let us look at various kinds of relationships which may exist between management and organized workers in the United States today.

Unions do not necessarily mean conflict, sometimes the reverse. There seems to be a regular progression from physical violence to active cooperation. Benjamin M. Selekman of the Harvard Business School, in a recent book, has described eight different stages.

In the long run relations will be determined by collective bargaining between union and management rather than by Taft-Hartley laws or similar legislation. The two parties at interest must work it out together. In four of the patterns of relationships conflict is implicit, ready to break out at any moment; in the other four agreement has been reached, but a dubious agreement, in two categories. Beginning on the lowest rung, this is how Selekman ranks the stages toward real understanding:

1. *Containment-aggression*—where management accepts the union under protest but tries to limit its activities to bargaining over hours and wages. The union is pressing to expand its power; tension is always high and readily can become explosive.

2. *Class-struggle ideology.* In this pattern union leaders act along Marxian lines. They may cooperate with management as a matter of expediency or because Moscow tells them to for the moment—as in World War II—but no real peace is possible. The union leaders, if not the rank and file, are committed by their ideology to the elimination of the management class. This pattern is on the wane as C. I. O. and A. F. of L. purge their red unions.

3. *Laissez faire ideology*—which is the class struggle in reverse. Many American managers, especially in the South, are convinced that unions have no place in a free society. Though they will deal with unions if they must, they are always on the alert for a chance to get rid of them once and for all. Real cooperation is again impossible. This group was dealt a mortal blow by the Wagner act and is gradually fading out.

4. *Power-bargaining.* By this Selekman means that the parties accept each other as a necessary evil, but each tries to wrest from the other all possible advantage. When winter comes and the need for coal is bitter, then pull a strike! Base your strategy on the market and collect all the traffic will bear. John L. Lewis, Caesar Petrillo, the dock workers of San Francisco, teamsters in various cities, follow this pattern—tough leaders on both sides, and the public be damned. Such a relationship is likely to arouse the public's wrath and be followed by government intervention—as when the army takes over the coal mines—and reduced power for both men and management. The pattern can lead to the liquidation of collective bargaining.

STUART CHASE is the author of "The Proper Study of Mankind," "Men at Work," and other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now we turn the corner from conflict to agreement. Here are four types of relationships where men and management really cooperate without crossing their fingers. Observe, however, the mayhem practiced on the public in numbers five and six!

5. *Deals.* Top union officials and top management make a deal about wages, hours, and working conditions. The rank and file never know the details, and of course neither do the stockholders; stockholders are rarely supposed to know anything under our present business institutions. Besides being utterly undemocratic, this is a pretty unreliable kind of cooperation, because if the rank and file *do* find out about the "deal" they are likely to blow the roof off. Every now and then a labor big shot disappears into outer space.

6. *Collusion*—which differs from a deal in two ways. First, the rank and file are usually in on it; second, union and managers jointly seize control of the market and proceed to administer quotas, prices, quality, what not, in an air-tight monopoly. Collusion reaches its finest flowering in the building trades. Thurman Arnold in his "Bottlenecks of Business" can give you extensive documentation. It certainly reduces labor conflict, but at a cost to the consumer—sometimes a very high and fancy cost. The government is likely to move in here too, under the Sherman act.

7. *Accommodation.* Now we approach maturity. The term seems to have been invented by Selekman, and I find it very useful to indicate a process, not only in labor disputes, but in all sorts of human conflicts. It implies a degree of acceptance and an equilibrium. The idea is to live and let live; perhaps two parties cannot agree in all matters, but they can understand each other's point of view and accommodate their activities. Cyrus Ching described such a pattern to me, with a story from Mexico. Such is what Republicans and Democrats in the Senate will soon have to do if the Republic is to continue intact. Such is now the only hope in the cold war.

In labor relations accommodation means that while union and management are wary, while they still hold rigidly to the traditional methods of collective bargaining and attempt no "participation" plans at all, they have become used to one another. They "interact comfortably within a familiar pattern of behavior." In accommodation hope has been abandoned of liquidating the opponent; there he is and one must live with him.

8. *Cooperation,* or the Promised Land—to which accommodation is often the threshold. Gradually the old distrusts melt out, and each side comes to believe in the other's good faith. They feel so secure that they can go beyond the traditional agenda of collective bargaining. They can jointly consider matters of production, solvency, elimination of waste, introduction of new machines, and so on. "The union accepts managerial problems as being of concern to labor; management recognizes its stake in stable, effective unionism; together they dispose of problems as they arise." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, for instance, would never attack Hart, Schaffner, and Marx as a "profit-swollen corporation" or a "greedy exploiter"—such adolescent name-calling has been outgrown. The union is pledged to keep the company solvent, while the company is pledged to union participation in certain well-defined managerial functions.

STAGE eight will not arrive tomorrow for most American enterprise. Given the suddenness of union growth in this country—from fewer than three million members in 1934 to sixteen million today—and given the enduring rivalry between the C. I. O. and A. F. of L., accommodation seems to be the more realistic and promising objective. Selekman thinks we shall do well if we get stage seven over the greater part of industry by 1960.

What does stage eight look like? Both the Amalgamated and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been operating in it for years. Elsewhere Joseph Scanlon, a former steel-union official and now M. I. T. professor, has set up some forty "participating" plans in which union and management are jointly responsible for output.

There are plenty of examples available; suppose we pick a clothing manufacturer in Rochester, New York, where cooperation has been so effective that there has been no strike since the original contract was signed with Sidney Hillman in April, 1919. In the last eighteen years not a single grievance has gone to arbitration!

The Amalgamated was formed in 1914 when Hillman's group split off from the United Garment Workers, A. F. of L. He wanted to replace the craft union with an industrial union in which all crafts would be united, from messengers to skilled cutters. At first there were bloody strikes and many picket lines in New York, Philadelphia, Rochester, and elsewhere. Call it stage one, "containment-aggression."

A firm making top-quality men's suits in Rochester, the Hickey-Freeman Company, took a calculated risk and signed a contract with Hillman in 1919. It was a brief contract, providing for the settlement of grievances, a labor manager to be appointed by the firm, an open shop, and arbitration machinery. Dr. William Leiserson became the first impartial chairman under the arbitration clause, a post which was to win him national honor. Thirty-three cases came to him in the first year. Now grievances are settled so quickly at the point of origin in the shop that they seldom get to arbitration at all.

Gradually participation was introduced and increased until it became the fixed policy of Hickey-Freeman to consult the union before making any major decision affecting the workers. Such a policy clashes with the traditional prerogatives of the boss and is an acute issue in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

industry today. Employers are disposed to fight for what they consider their right to run the business. Unions are disposed to fight against what they consider unjust acts of management—rate-cutting, speed-ups, arbitrary firing. But at Hickey-Freeman "management prerogatives" carry no warlike connotation. Boundaries between managers and workers have been clearly defined and long since accepted. Stage eight is solidly established.

LET us look at an actual example of this kind of participation. Here is the "plant chairman," a union official, whose job it is to settle local grievances—the kind which the company personnel department or the company foreman tries to settle in most concerns. The chairman sits in a private office right in the factory.

A complaint comes in. "Julie" is making too many errors in stitching labels. He looks over the record and then summons the girl, the company foreman, and the union shop steward. He shows them the figures. Nobody questions Julie's brilliant facility in wrecking labels. The plant chairman—a union official, remember—looks straight at her and says, "Julie, the company can't afford to pay you one cent a label to make mistakes, and then pay another girl six cents to correct them, can it?"

"No, sir."

"You know, Julie, you just weren't cut out to sit at a machine all day long. After you have been sitting for a while, your attention wanders, doesn't it?"

"Yes, I guess I'm not cut out for this job."

The company foreman then goes into action. "She used to be a good messenger when she first came here. How about shifting her to that job?"

"Would you like that?" asks the plant chairman.

"Sure, I'd like it fine," says Julie.

And this grievance, an actual case, is settled by a union official to the complete satisfaction of the company foreman and of the girl herself. Julie is of course a union member.

When a new suit is designed, patterns are first taken to the operating department of the company for study. Then the union officers are called in for a joint conference. Piece rates, quality, the division of work, and other technical matters are thoroughly discussed. Patterns which arouse objections go back to the designer for correction.

The new style, when ready, is a joint plan by both company and union, with all foreseeable grievances and conflicts removed. But that is not the end of the participation. A few suits are first manufactured in a kind of pilot plant. If the workers like the style—not the cut of the vest so much as the conditions of producing it—they tell the rest of the shop, aided by the plant chairman (union) and the labor manager (company). A better way to avoid later complaints and to encourage production would be difficult to imagine.

PERHAPS the most striking example of participation came during the depression of the 1930's. Clothing firms were failing right and left. The Amalgamated became an industrial banker, loaning money out of the union treasury to keep the companies afloat! Hart, Schaffner, and Marx was said to have received a substantial loan in the nick of time.

In 1933 the Amalgamated at Rochester negotiated a wage cut—yes, *cut*—of 15 per cent. Later in that terrible year the union negotiated another cut of 15 per cent. In 1934 came a third cut of the same amount, later modified to 8 per cent. Thus the union had matured to the point of deliberately choosing the lesser evil—better a 45 per cent wage cut than unemployment. (The cost of living was falling too, of course.) Participation in the needle trades is a two-way street. Workers share in the high earnings of the good years and in the losses of the bad years. Both parties strive for a healthy industry.

Donald Straus, who has reported on Hickey-Freeman for the National Planning Association, sums up by saying that industrial peace rests on two foundations. First, the unreserved acceptance by management of the union and its functions, including participation in some managerial decisions. Second, the unreserved acceptance by the union of responsibility for the welfare and solvency of the industry. There are no "deals" and no collusive agreements.

The relationship between men and managers at Hickey-Freeman—and at most shops in the men's clothing industry—has been directed toward "solving mutual problems as they arise, not to winning arguments." As the relationship developed, increasing reliance was placed on collective bargaining at the local level, less on arbitration, far less on splitting legal hairs over the interpretation of the written contract.

The United Nations, by way of contrast, is still in the hair-splitting stage. But of course it is much younger than the union Sidney Hillman founded.

Hickey-Freeman is one of a dozen concerns now under intensive examination by the National Planning Association. Instead of studying labor wars the association is analyzing labor peace. In 1946 the papers printed more front-page news about strikes than ever before, but even in that turbulent year nine out of every ten labor contracts were renegotiated without a strike. In 1947 twenty-four out of twenty-five were so negotiated. The prevailing pattern is peace, even if the headlines make it look like war.

Peace is not news as defined by the newspapers; somebody has to bite somebody. Clinton Golden, who heads the N. P. A. research, said in launching the study: "The time has come when, instead of looking into the causes of conflict that we hear so much about, we ought to try to discover how much peace there is, and what makes peace."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The St. Lawrence Seaway, I

NOT many years ago executives of the M. A. Hanna Company used to talk about the proposed St. Lawrence seaway as "that socialist ditch." In those days the company, which is the leading concern in the Great Lakes carrier trade, with large subsidiary iron-ore, coal, and steel interests, saw no special advantage to itself in improved communications between the Midwestern states and the outside world. True to the protectionist tradition of its founder, the famous Mark Hanna, it opposed the seaway as a possible means of introducing cheap foreign products to the Great Lakes area. In addition, it lined up with the rest of the coal-mining industry in seeking to block the development of the hydroelectric resources of the St. Lawrence—a project intimately linked to the building of the seaway—since that implied new competition for solid fuels.

The conversion of the Hanna company and other noted Midwestern industrial concerns, such as Republic Steel and Armco Steel, from stalwart enemies of the St. Lawrence scheme to its foremost proponents provides us with a nice illustration of the theory of economic determinism. Their change of heart is due to the fact that while the demand for iron ore is steadily expanding, reserves in the great Mesabi deposits, on which the Midwestern steel industry has been built, are shrinking rapidly. Henceforth the proportion of foreign ores fed to American blast furnaces will increase constantly, and unless the Great Lakes states can obtain easy access to such ores the center of the steel industry, now in western Ohio, will tend to shift east.

Already there are some signs of such a shift. Following its discovery of a vast mountain of high-grade iron ore in Venezuela, United States Steel is starting to build a gigantic plant on the Delaware not far from Philadelphia. National Steel is contemplating construction in the same vicinity, and schemes for integrated steel mills in Connecticut and Virginia are being promoted. The fact that some part of the present planned expansion of the steel industry is taking shape in the Northeast is encouraging. This section consumes very large quantities of the metal, and its fabricating industries have perhaps been handicapped by lack of nearby supplies.

Natural growth in the East is one thing: the forced relocation of a large part of the Midwestern steel industry along the eastern seaboard would mean an upheaval that could have disastrous economic and social consequences. Such a relocation may well occur if over a period iron ore cannot be laid down as cheaply in Ohio as in New Jersey. In a statement to the House Public Affairs Committee last May, Norman Foy, of the Republic Steel Corporation, explained the further consequences:

> As the steel industry moved, the great fabricating plants of our steel centers would also be forced to move. . . . Much greater density of population and industry would be a natural result. . . . To the west of our present manufacturing centers of the Middle West are the great western markets. Every mile eastward which heavy industry travels would increase the cost of finished steel products to these western markets. . . . Instead of paying freight on farm equipment and household durable goods from Chicago and other midwestern points, the freight would be paid from eastern points.

If there were no alternative ore supplies for the Midwestern steel plants as the Mesabi range peters out, we might have to accept as an economic necessity the gradual migration of industry, with its concomitant social reactions—the creation of ghost cities and a huge waste of social capital. But the discovery of very large, easily worked deposits of high-grade ore in the wilds of the Quebec-Labrador borderlands can avert this catastrophe if the problem of transport can be solved.

These deposits are being developed by a partnership of Canadian mining interests with six United States companies headed by Hanna. A railroad, on which construction began recently, will bring the ore to deep water at Seven Islands on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which is 952 miles from the big Lake Erie ore port of Ashtabula—only 76 miles farther than Duluth, shipping point for Mesabi, is from Ashtabula. But while the big ore carriers sail direct from Duluth through the twenty-five-foot channel of the Soo Canal, the route from the Gulf of St. Lawrence is blocked by the bottleneck of the International Rapids between Ogdensburg, New York, and Cornwall, Ontario.

As things are at present, Quebec ore, which will be available in large quantities by 1956, must be carried by ocean freighters to Montreal and there dumped into boats small enough to navigate the fourteen-foot Canadian canal which by-passes the International Rapids. This transshipment will add to costs, and in any case the maximum carrying capacity of the canal is about five million tons annually, or only half the estimated Quebec output. Any alternative route involves railroad transport, which is considerably more costly than bulk water carriage. Pittsburgh is 701 miles by rail from Montreal and 328 from Baltimore, which in turn is 1,550 sea miles from Seven Islands. But the distance from Ashtabula to Pittsburgh is only 126 miles. These figures explain the new enthusiasm of the Midwestern steel producers for the St. Lawrence seaway. They also make understandable the opposition of the railroads and the Eastern seaports, whose case I will examine next week.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

Minority Report

FROM HERE TO ETERNITY. By James Jones. Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.50.

THIS preposterously overpraised novel seems to have been written chiefly to demonstrate that, since each man is an island, no real communication between human beings is possible. The scene is Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, in the months before Pearl Harbor and the few weeks after. The chief characters to prove that neither love nor friendship can be a balm to the incurable wound of aloneness are a private and a sergeant. In army terms the private is a "bolshevik"; he will not be pushed around, and in the end his inarticulate righteousness makes him murder and gets him killed. The sergeant, virile, handsome, an embodiment of all the virtues of the consecrated non-com, is left, after some complicated gyrations with his captain's wife, a little wiser and a little more disillusioned than he was at their beginning. Around these two circulate about one dozen enlisted men and officers selected from various racial and cultural strata in American life (Mr. Jones sees the army, inevitably, as a microcosm): an Italian from Brooklyn, a Jew from the Bronx, several West Point types, and so on, even to an American Indian. There are also the captain's desperate wife and the private's girl, a whore in quest of respectability.

The same oversimplification of experience and the same mechanical approach to re-creating it appear in the larger structure of the novel. Mr. Jones works from a formula: by recording in detail the awarenesses of two or three characters and by separating these from one another with detailed scenes of photographic reportage he can automatically produce fiction. "From Here to Eternity" recapitulates meticulously the activities and the reveries of several individuals. But in all its frenzied realism there is little reality. The novel has neither vision nor order, depending instead on a central thesis, a scanty plot, and the accident of Pearl Harbor. Had it not been for the last, it might have gone on as long as army life, offering up in perpetuity awareness as a substitute for knowledge.

When the characters embark on their self-communings, their reflections are boring and stereotyped. Unlike Dreiser or Lardner or even, on occasion, James, Mr. Jones does not know how to write about bores. His fiction assumes and asserts that every human being is, somehow, some way, interesting, but it never realizes this possibility. He starts various matters he does not finish. He intends, for example, to indicate something important in his picture of the love-hate relation between the private and the sergeant and to create some parallel between the affair of the one with a whore and of the other with the captain's wife. But since he does not know what he thinks or feels about these episodes their meaning remains unexplored. Sooner or later someone will point out that this chaos has cumulative power. I watched closely for it to accrete and found only repetition. There is no reward here comparable in the least to what comes after those chapters of bad sentences in which Dreiser talks so awkwardly yet so powerfully about the decline and fall of Hurstwood.

The jacket proclaims that "the graphic realistic detail will outrage some readers." Anyone leafing hastily after scatology will find the uninventive profanity of semi-literates erupting on every page, serving no fictional purpose but demonstrating Mr. Jones's obviously sincere intention to record everything. There are also extended passages which may possibly titivate readers unfamiliar with modern fiction —a scene in a whorehouse, a scene in a homosexual bar, a seduction scene, to cite only three, reflections of similar episodes in Dreiser or Joyce or Lawrence or in their imitators, denser areas in this miasma of stereotypes.

The vehicle of this dulness is a confected prose which reads like a bad imitation of the opening chapters of "Ulysses" slightly influenced by Thomas Wolfe. By trying almost always to mean more than it says it is intended to convince one of the solemnity of the author's purpose. I subjoin an example which displays, all at once, symbolism, lyrical feeling, and reflection; the private has gone up on top of a hill to lie under a tree and get drunk:

> The ancient thorny-fingered guardian that all day protected its little patch of virgin grass from the philandering sun's greedy demanding of that last maidenhead in the field, spread its warped washerwoman's arms above him now as it had the grass all day, protecting the philandering prodigal now as it had its daughter's greenness, until he drank his whiskey.

On a more direct narrative level the prose moves with less fanfare but hardly with ease:

> Staring at him with eyes of liquid smoke in which there was a curious and great disinterest she unzipped her shorts and shucked out of them without moving from the chair and dropped them with the halter.

I discerned one virtue in these 860 pages. Mr. Jones writes boringly and pretentiously about the insulted and injured because he mistakes reporting for fiction, because, at this point, his thoughts and feelings about the life he wants to re-create are either banal or confused, and because he has a bad style. But he knows one fact well: human beings caught in brutalizing situations will attempt to rise above the feral pattern to some human dignity. His sense of this groping emerges again and again. It is sharper and more deeply felt than all the rest of this dreary catalogue of unsuccessful love-making, cruelty to animals, and barracks minutiae.

A word on the salvos which have greeted "From Here to Eternity": It is not clear to me how anyone seriously concerned with fiction could praise this novel as extravagantly as it has been praised. The prose alone should make it impossible to take very seriously. In their irresponsible eagerness to elevate inconspicuous merit to genius our critics are willing to mislead the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public and, for that matter, the author. It is the kind of judgment they have passed on this novel, as much as our often-abused publishing industry and our much-decried public taste, that is responsible for the cheap virtues of most of our current fiction.

ERNEST JONES

Problems of 1861

MR. LINCOLN'S ARMY. By Bruce Catton. Doubleday and Company. $3.75.

THE outbreak of the Civil War found those who were to fight it totally unprepared for the kind of war it would be. It took years and the expenditure of enormous resources in money and men before the government in Washington discovered the means for bringing the conflict to a successful conclusion.

Undoubtedly the rebellion itself created a disheartening situation for the Union. The regular officer corps was pathetically shattered when it lost a large part of its membership to the Confederacy; the army faced the necessity of recruiting not the privates alone but the commanders as well. In addition, political issues long left the strategic advantage in the hands of the seceding states.

But more important was the fact that the men of 1861 brought to the fighting a conception of war far different from what they would confront in reality. The enthusiastic volunteers who hastened to sign up when the flag went down over Fort Sumter had in mind the tinted battles of the picture book; actually the deadly fire of rifles at close range presented them with the modern mud of the infantry. The Crimean War should have pointed a warning. But the shapers of policy in the offices and in the camps too long clung to the illusion that the means of the war could exist on the same high level as the ideals for which it was fought. Only the disastrously mounting casualty lists convinced them it would be otherwise.

If it was a long task to assemble the proper army, it took longer still to find the appropriate commander. Without even a vague notion of what characteristics were desirable in the leader of the new army, the government blundered through a succession of inept choices, some from the regular service, some recently out of civilian life, but none adequate. For until Grant appeared on the scene, none really understood that the function of the new fighting was total destruction and that gallantry had no place in it. The result was a long period of bungling that involved the useless waste of lives and resources and that left behind the bitterness that poisoned the peace.

It is the great virtue of Catton's volume that he understands this essential quality of Civil War history. In form his volume is a history of the Army of the Potomac under General George McClellan. In substance it is an enlightening interpretation of the whole course of the conflict.

The book opens with an account of the Second Battle of Bull Run, in which Pope demonstrated his unfitness for command. The story then moves backward in time for a retrospective survey of the organization of the army and of McClellan's relationship to it. Coming back to the aftermath of Bull Run, Catton then carries his narrative on to the climactic battle of Antietam, a battle that McClellan appeared to have won and yet that finally cost him his command.

At first impression, this organization may seem needlessly intricate. But by abjuring the straight chronological treatment Catton has endowed his work with a sense of great authenticity. Too often the military historian, laboring under the compulsion to clarify the events as they occurred, endows the actors in those events with a false consciousness of purpose and with a delusive prescience. This fault Mr. Catton escapes. In a superbly told story he makes clear what did happen and why but without leaving the erroneous impression that the generals knew what would happen or why. On the contrary he makes dramatically plain, as in the description of McClellan's headquarters at the Pry House during the Battle of Antietam, that the commanders often had not the vaguest idea of the meaning of the unfolding incidents about them.

While Catton has managed to get in the excitement and the thrill of the actual fighting, he has not neglected to fill in the realistic details of the periods between. Nor is he unaware of the political implications of the military events. A clear account of the effects on the military decisions of the background of suspicion and distrust that poisoned the atmosphere of Washington brings the whole picture into focus. Lucidly written and competently put together, this is a splendid example of popular interpretative history and deserves a wide audience. OSCAR HANDLIN

Cycles and Controls

BUSINESS CYCLES AND NATIONAL INCOME. By Alvin H. Hansen. W. W. Norton and Company. $6.75.

PROFESSOR HANSEN continues to be such a prolific writer that it would be unsafe to describe any book of his as his major work, but it seems reasonable to suppose that he regards this 639-page volume as a summing-up of his study and views on the subject.

A large part of the book is taken up with a historical discussion of the development of business-cycle theories, and it is obviously intended for other economists and students rather than for

The matured philosophy of a completely honest man

NORMAN THOMAS'

A Socialist's Faith

Against the background of his forty years of public life, Norman Thomas re-examines the nature of socialism and the case for it, and presents his beliefs and views on the state of our country and the world today. A stimulating, rewarding book.

At all bookstores • $4.00

W. W. NORTON & COMPANY

101 Fifth Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the lay reader. However, it is positive rather than eclectic in approach, and those who disagree with the author's conclusions will certainly find practically all of it controversial.

The basic conclusion is that a democratic government can and should do a great deal to mitigate the severity of business cycles in a capitalist economy. Professor Hansen would probably not disagree with the statement that he has been more influenced by the late Lord Keynes than by any other economist, although he is not uncritical of some aspects of Keynesian theory and is at pains to point out that many of the ideas commonly associated with Keynes were foreshadowed by earlier writers. He also indicates that the rapid increase in the availability of statistical information in recent years requires continuous reexamination and development of cycle theory. At the close of the chapter, Government Outlays, Investment, and Consumption, Hansen writes:

A rather rigid theoretical apparatus, such as that explained above, though based on rigorous assumptions, is none the less highly useful as a means of understanding economic developments. In actual life, however, there are always many disturbing factors which modify the conclusions reached on the basis of pure theoretical analysis. Thus theory, important as it is, must be supplemented by judgment, practical experience, and broad historical knowledge.

The most disturbing aspect of a monumental study like this is its indication that the gap between progressive economic theory and the practical judgment of business or political leaders is growing rather than diminishing. Like Edwin G. Nourse, who would disagree with many of his conclusions, Hansen has great hopes for the Council of Economic Advisers set up under the Employment Act of 1946. Unfortunately, it is difficult to see how any President or members of Congress can be expected to understand fully the assumptions upon which the council presumably operates, and it would not be reassuring to have the advice of the council taken on faith.

The present governments of the United States and England have accepted responsibility for constructive action in economic affairs, but public acceptance of this responsibility is precarious, because the underlying principles are not at all generally understood. It is to be hoped that Hansen's book can be successfully translated for the benefit of laymen. In some of his articles and shorter books, of course, the author has done part of that job himself.

CHARLES E. NOYES

PUBLISHER—WANTED

THREE reputable publishers in succession rejected a collection of my poems. One Editor-in-Chief let the cat out of the bag: "... difficult successfully to market poetry unless poet already has considerable critical reputation." To be unknown—what a crime! Is there a dependable publisher with courage? Who is first? Publishers expecting the author to foot the bill need not reply. Box 214, c/o The Nation.

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE **USSR**

Just Arrived! TIKHON SYOMUSHKIN

ALITET GOES TO THE HILLS

Stalin Prize Novel

In English — 292 pp. — $1.00

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular list price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the list price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION

20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Verse Chronicle

"CELEBRATION AT DARK," by William Jay Smith (Farrar, Straus, $2), is a little book containing a good deal of richness and contained by a good deal of modesty. For once, and this is rare, we have a poet not exhibiting himself saying "I feel terrible" but almost bursting with good news; in some of the poems the exuberance does not quite succeed in keeping out irrelevance, particularly in the matter of similes; *like* is a part of speech with which Mr. Smith could afford to be more sparing. Color here; music; and a gaiety which rises superior to its own ironic knowledge.

"The New Barbarian," by Winthrop Palmer (Farrar, Straus, $2.50), is more political, more pessimistic, and somewhat less expert than the work of Mr. Smith. Affirmation, not being easy, makes, it would seem, more demands on technique than does accurate analysis, however honest, however unsentimental. "Mrs. Palmer," it says on the jacket, "believes that classic disciplines will survive any barbarian invasion." I can find nothing like this in the text; on the contrary. "Barbarians enter the city." "The tall, blue-eyed, magnificently wild Barbarian, no empire has withstood." "But neither the Senate nor Woman could quell / Slave and Barbarian . . . the Republic fell." The Barbarians have already triumphed, apparently, and we are a populace, not a people. Mrs. Palmer's work is honest, well-turned, unsentimental, scathing, and, after a while, just a bit tedious; the symbols repeat themselves too often, so that the effect is one of a guarded tightness. Which, of course, is better than being all over the place.

"The Region of the Summer Stars," by Charles Williams (Oxford, $1.75), requires of its readers an interest in theology, in the legends of Celtic Britain, and perhaps also in T. S. Eliot's good opinion of its author. More or less amiably disposed in these regards, I nevertheless find the poem beyond my capacity for persistence; in other words, rather long, rather dull. Blank verse, in our time at least, needs a good deal of modulation to hold the secular interest, expert craft, even a sly adroitness, to which Mr. Williams, being not primarily a poet, cannot, will not, or anyway does not descend. I would not deny that this is an admirable book, but I must confess that I cannot read it.

"Montage of a Dream Deferred," by Langston Hughes (Holt, $2), troubles and confuses me as work by this author often does. On the one hand, no white man living in Jackson Heights is fully competent to enter into the emotions of a Negro at home in Harlem; on the other, there seems to be a split—apparent in his book's title—between the sophistication of Mr. Hughes the individual and the innocence of Mr. Hughes the spokesman, so that the statement, in terms of be-bop—another matter of which I know very little—seems both oversimplified and theatrical.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Geoffrey Grigson's introduction to the "Selected Poems of John Clare" is the most interesting I have so far seen in the admirable Muses' Library series (Harvard University Press, $2.10). To be sure, Mr. Grigson has to take a couple of swipes at his King Charles's head, the ideas of Mr. Eliot, but his interpretation of Clare is illuminating and his admiration eloquent.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Books in Brief

THE KOREANS AND THEIR CULTURE. By Cornelius Osgood. Ronald Press. $5. An illuminating study by a Yale professor of anthropology. The first and most interesting part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the social and economic life of a typical Korean village. This is followed by a brief survey of upper-class life at the capital and a political history of the country down to 1949, with a postscript covering the events leading up to the present war. After reading the author's account of Korean village life one can never again interpret the headlines in coldly impersonal terms.

THE PACIFIC ISLANDS. By Douglas L. Oliver. Harvard. $5. A concise survey of the ten thousand islands of the Pacific—their history, inhabitants, and resources—and the effects of Christianity, trade, and war on the natives. The author, associate professor of anthropology at Harvard, leaps from island to island and subject to subject with agility and grace, covering a vast territory in an unexpectedly readable volume.

THE ROAD TO PEARL HARBOR. By Herbert Feis. Princeton. $5. A useful addition to the already large library of books on the diplomatic history of the war. Basing his study on all papers, both American and Japanese, so far made public, and on his own observations as economic adviser in the State Department, the author describes the policies, personalities, and attitudes that led to the war with Japan, and analyzes each successive step in the diplomatic negotiations from 1937 to Pearl Harbor. One reads this fair and lucid study with a sense of the majestic inevitability of collision once Japan had determined to invade China, since each successive step made it more difficult for the Japanese not to advance or for the Americans to retreat.

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

IN "The Autumn Garden" (Coronet Theater) Lillian Hellman presents a group of ten people in the home of Constance Tuckerman, a genteel Southern woman in reduced circumstances who takes in friends as boarders. Their impact on one another makes up the action of the play; and its message seems to be that what one is in middle age is the sum and consequence of one's past and that the future will be merely a continuation.

There are two young people—Sophie, the French-born niece of the hostess, and Frederick Ellis, whose rich grandmother (Ethel Griffies) is the star boarder. The others are past middle age, and each in his own way is defeated or disillusioned. They include the world-weary General Griggs and his silly wife Rose (Florence Eldridge); Carrie Ellis, possessive mother of Frederick and dominated in turn by *her* mother; Edward Crossman, an old beau of the hostess but now past love for himself or anyone else; Nicholas Denery (Fredric March) a would-be artist; and his rich wife Nina, who finances his futility.

No one character is more important than another, though Nicholas, whose arrival sets the ferment going, is the chief troublemaker. And since it is difficult to dramatize futility and boredom, the plot tends to be unconvincing when it is most like action and boring when it is most convincing. The main interest lies in the characterizations and in the probing of relationships, and here Miss Hellman's shrewdness, competence, and ruthless humor stand her in good stead. There is even a touch of compassion in her handling of the three-way relationship of the elder Mrs. Ellis, her daughter, and her grandson—and this is, as a matter of fact, the only situation in the play that touches the heart. Compassion is obviously intended toward the young girl Sophie, caught in an alien society and trying to make the best of it, but in the end, when Sophie is assigned the thankless role of extracting money from Nina to save herself and return to her own way of life, she retains, whatever Miss Hellman's intentions, only a cynical sympathy.

The setting—the living-room and porch of a run-down Southern house—is very well conceived; the direction is good, considering the odds of long static passages in the play; the acting, by a star-studded cast, is highly competent. In two cases it is almost too good—or perhaps I should say that these parts are too exhaustively written. Florence Eldridge as the silly Rose and Fredric March as the fool of good-will in desperate search of self-importance are so trying that one comes to dread their appearance. It is the old problem of how to transform the boring or the trying into successful art, which by definition can be neither.

"The Moon Is Blue" (Henry Miller's Theater) is a gay bit of Americana in which an adolescent theme is bandied about in the accents of sophistication. Barbara Bel Geddes gives a charming and very skilful performance, well supported by Donald Cook and Barry Nelson.

ARE YOU SAYING "I CAN'T AFFORD TO RETIRE"?

You can retire young enough to enjoy it

—if you know where it costs less to live and where you can earn an extra income from a part-time job or small business. One of the best things about **Where to Retire on a Small Income** is that it selects out of the hundreds of thousands of communities in the U. S. and its island territories only those places where living costs are less, the surroundings are pleasant and you can add to your income through a part-time or seasonal job or from a small business.

With this book you learn:

—where you can go fishing, hunting, boating, and swimming practically from your front door;
—where living costs, rents, and real estate are less (even where you can buy a farm for only $2,500);
—where you can live inexpensively on an island far from the world, yet close to neighbors;
—where your hobby will bring you an income;
—where you stand the best chance of living as you want to.

Where to retire on a small income in Florida, California, Hawaii, etc.

The book covers cities, towns, and farms throughout America—from New England south to Florida, west to California, and north to the Pacific Northwest. It includes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Some people spend hundreds of dollars trying to get information like this by traveling around the country. Frequently they fail—there is just too much of America to explore. Yet Where to Retire on a Small Income costs only $1. "Should be one of the season's most popular books," says Pathfinder Magazine.

No matter what you are doing today, prepare now to retire. While still young enough to enjoy it. Simply tear out ad, print name and address, and mail with check, money order or $1 bill (we guarantee its safe arrival). Money back of course, if you're not satisfied with book. So write today to HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 122 First Ave., Greenlawn, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Facts on Film

BY MARY ANNE GUITAR

SO-CALLED "human relations" films are apt to be dull because of their rather heavy-handed educational approach. The audience often feels that it is being lectured rather than entertained and stimulated. The emotional content of these films is so slight that it is difficult to feel sympathy for the leading characters and remain interested in their problems. All too often the dramatic situation is so naive and contrived that the problem doesn't seem convincing. These disadvantages cause an uneasiness like that produced by a Disney cartoon combining live characters and animations.

McGraw-Hill's series on marriage manages to avoid most of these evils. Correlated with a college textbook, Henry Bowman's "Marriage for Moderns," it is designed to appeal to adult groups beyond the college level. These five films, running from fourteen to twenty-two minutes each, demonstrate how common marriage problems can be solved practically. Though some illusions may be shattered, the series does not convey the impression that good marriages are simply drab partnerships.

"This Charming Couple," first of the series, attacks the fantasies of romantic love, shows how a marriage is doomed to fail if each of the partners cultivates an impossibly romantic picture of the other. "Marriage Today" shows two different couples faced with the same problem. The man and woman in each case have fundamentally different personalities; yet they are able to build a durable marriage based on genuine understanding. "Choosing for Happiness" examines the motivations of a girl who cannot pick a mate and recommends for her more self-analysis and less criticism of others. "It Takes All Kinds" dramatizes the way a situation of stress reveals personality traits by showing how a variety of people react when put on the spot—the Executive, the Worrier, the Helpless One, the Competent Type. The film then suggests the importance of choosing a mate whose real personality is understood. "Who's Boss?" takes up the important subject of competition in marriage. Two rather angry people first rebel against the cooperation implicit in marriage, then gradually make an adjustment to it. This film and "Marriage Today" seem to realize most clearly the theory behind the series: "A successful marriage does not happen; it is the achievement of two people."

The films may be purchased from McGraw-Hill Text Film Department, 330 West Forty-second Street, New York, at an average price of $90 each. They may be rented from Association Films, 35 West Forty-fifth Street, New York, for $6 each or the series for $25. A number of university libraries also carry these films for rental.

In most guidance films the camera is pretty much restricted to close-ups of individuals as they struggle with their emotional problems, but in the documentary called "Preface to a Life" the camera has been used with enough imagination to give depth and impact to a case history. The film deals with the complex subject of how parental attitudes mold a child's personality. In this particular case Michael Thompson has a mother who wants to keep him extremely dependent and a father who wants him to outstrip all competitors and be a leader. To satisfy both and at the same time develop according to his own capacities is patently impossible. The film does not attempt to record the effects of the struggle but concentrates on showing how absurd the realization of either parent's dream would be. If Michael tried to satisfy his mother he would grow up feeling inhibited in his natural desire to be a mature man. If he tried to satisfy his father's ambitions, he would feel defeated and inadequate. A third sequence shows the better way to bring up Michael, giving him both support and stimulation but allowing him to proceed at his own pace. "Preface to a Life" was made for the National Institute of Mental Health, Federal Security Agency, and may be obtained free of charge from them. United World Films, 1445 Park Avenue, New York, has sales prints for $35.85. Running time is twenty-nine minutes. Sun Dial Films, 341 East Forty-third Street, who made the film, have rental prints for $5.

Both the McGraw-Hill pictures and "Preface to a Life" are intended as springboards for discussion. They make excellent program starters for child-study groups, church and community organizations, and young people's associations. Discussion guides are available.

Nation Readers are cordially invited to

L. I. D. 46th Annual Luncheon

on

WORLD COOPERATION FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

HOTEL COMMODORE

NEW YORK

Saturday, March 31, 1951

Speakers: RALPH J. BUNCHE, WILLIAM GREEN, M. J. COLDWELL, A. J. HAYES, H. L. KEENLEYSIDE, PAUL R. PORTER, SELMAN A. WAKSMAN, NATHANIEL M. MINKOFF, Chairman.

Citations to: DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE and PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN for their contribution to International Understanding and the Social Advance.

John Dewey Awards to L. I. D. Alumni, PAUL H. DOUGLAS and SELMAN A. WAKSMAN.

Luncheon Tickets $5

● Also 46th Annual Conference Round Table Discussions Friday night, March 30 and Saturday morning and afternoon, March 31 on "Counteracting Anti-Democratic Forces in America," "International Economic and Cultural Cooperation" and "Next Steps in Labor Political Action," participated in, in addition to several luncheon speakers, by Robert Bendiner, John L. Childs, Tilford Dudley, Albert and John Herling, Raphael Lemkin, Eduard C. Lindeman, Patrick M. Malin, Stanley M. Ruttenberg, Joseph Schlossberg, Boris Shishkin, Rebecca Simonson, Gus Tyler, Walter White, Murray Baron, James Farmer, Clarence Senior, Mildred Perlman and Mark Starr.

Round Table Discussions, 50¢ each

Luncheon Tickets and Round Tables, $6.00

Make Reservations Immediately with

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Harry W. Laidler, Program Chairman

112 East 19th Street New York 3, N. Y.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ALL through 1948-49 the Artist and Repertory people at RCA Victor did not approach Toscanini about recording (having, as the story reached me, used up their budget on Horowitz, Heifetz, Rubinstein, Iturbi, Mario Lanza, and other such greats). And as it happened 1948-49 was a year in which Toscanini achieved some of the finest performances of his career. Among these performances that went unrecorded was one of Schubert's "Unfinished" that was especially remarkable in the way its steady *Allegro moderato* pace in the first movement and *Andante con moto* in the second created an almost superearthly quiet and calm in which both the dramatic power and the serenity of the work were achieved. It resulted from momen-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tary conditions of mind and emotion; and a year later different conditions resulted in the different performance that was recorded and is now issued by Victor—one in which tempos are faster (first movement) and less steady (second movement), and the first movement, played *Allegro agitato,* achieves exciting dramatic power but not in superearthly calm. But in its own way it is a magnificent performance. As for the recorded sound from my LP review record, for sufficient liveness I have to step up the treble to 5 on my Brook amplifier, and I also have to step up the volume for the second side, but otherwise it is excellent.

Victor also has issued one of the great last symphonies of Haydn, No. 104, played by Münch with the Boston Symphony. In Haydn Münch is not hysterical, as he is in Berlioz's "Fantastic"; but he is now insensitive, now fussy, now graceless.

Another of these great works, No. 100, is on a Westminster record (50-45), played very beautifully by the Vienna Symphony under Scherchen, but with the second movement much too slow and the minuet movement also too stolid. The performance is excellently reproduced, except that the percussion is much too loud in the second movement. No. 95, on the reverse side, is a less impressive member of the last series. It too is played well; but the violin sound is sharp, and bass must be reduced.

What I find to be only slightly engaging examples of Haydn's developed and matured symphonic writing at different periods are Nos. 64 and 91, well played by the Vienna Symphony under Swoboda on another Westminster record (50-23) (the violin sound is coarse, and bass must be stepped up); and Nos. 42 and 47, well played by the Vienna Chamber Orchestra under Litschauer on a Haydn Society record (1026). And in an early style of no individuality are the engaging No. 6 and less interesting No. 21, also played, a little stolidly, by the Vienna Chamber Orchestra under Litschauer on another Haydn Society record (1025).

Columbia has issued Mozart's Violin Concerto K. 216 played by Isaac Stern with a chamber orchestra. My idea of this delightful work is derived from the old Columbia recording of a light-stepping, sensitive, and sharp-witted performance by Huberman—compared with which the Stern performance of the *Allegro* movements is stolid and burly and made worse by its curiously brash sound on the record. The slow movement, however, Stern plays very beautifully. Unsuitably coupled with this concerto is the previously issued Stern-Zakin performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 30 No. 2.

I had never managed to hear the Parlophone recording of Mozart's Piano Concerto K. 456 played by Lili Kraus and the London Philharmonic under Goehr; and I thank Decca—which has dubbed it onto an LP record (DL-8505)—for the belated experience of one of Mozart's masterpieces in this genre, with a first movement of high comedy and a wonderfully beautiful theme and variations in the second movement. Kraus's playing is of the same quality as in the recorded performances of violin sonatas with Goldberg, one of which—of the fragmentary and inconsequential Mozart Sonata K. 404—fills out the second side of the record, together with some Schubert Ländler in which one hears the affected playing Kraus did on her own. Treble has to be stepped up for sufficient liveness in the recorded sound; the orchestra then is a little tight and sharp, and surface noise is prominent. My review record is badly afflicted with off-center wavering of pitch.

Decca also has issued an LP dubbing (DL-7507) of the Parlophone recording of Bach's Violin Concerto in E played by Goldberg and the Philharmonia Orchestra under Susskind. Rehearing the work after a long interval I still don't care much for the opening movement and care even less for the finale, but find the slow movement very fine; and the performance is excellent. Treble must be stepped up; there are then occasional buzzes and coarseness in the violin sound.

The Bach Guild has issued, through Vanguard (BG-504), a record with a Johann Christian Bach Sinfonia Concertante in E flat, which I find mostly uninteresting, and Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Symphonies Nos. 1 and 3, in which one hears the exciting operation of a mind at once highly individual, vigorous, and daring. The first piece is played stolidly, the others with more life, by the Vienna Symphony under Felix Guenther. A harpsichord is pounded so that one hears it—but mostly as a timbre, not as sounds with pitch.

And WCFM has issued (LP-2) all of Handel's Water Music played by the National Gallery Orchestra under Bales. One learns that there are a number of engaging pieces—Nos. 9, 10, 12, 14, 16-20—in addition to the fine ones that Harty made into his suite, but also a few uninteresting ones. The performance is undistinguished; but there is superb playing by trumpets and horns including the great Mason Jones.

CONTRIBUTORS

ERNEST JONES, who regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation,* is a member of the English Department of Queens College.

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department of Harvard University, is the author of "This Was America" and other books.

CHARLES E. NOYES is the author of "Economic Freedom."

GOOD NEWS for Music Lovers
Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
BEETHOVEN: All Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each $ .98
BACH: 3 Cello Sonatas and 7 Flute Sonatas.... .98
BRAHMS: Violin Sonatas..... .98
CHOPIN: 2 Piano Sonatas; 25 Preludes; Fantasy .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138 New York 32, N. Y.

25% Less than List on LP Records—
Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-18
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum). SAME-DAY SHIPMENT.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS!—Book mss. wanted for publication, fiction, non-fiction. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C. 16.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

TYPING SERVICE

MANUSCRIPT TYPING, theses, medical articles. Speed, intelligence, economy. AMBASSADOR OFFICE SERVICE, 17 East 48th Street. PLaza 5-1127.

PERSONALS

DON'T FORGET BIRTHDAYS, ANNIVERSARIES. Send dates, events, our notices insure remembrance. 15 dates, $2. LITTLE STRING REMINDER SERVICE, Box 6253, West Palm Beach, Fla.

ATTENTION: Selective single people—35–50 interested in participating discussion and social group, Manhattan. Box 215, c/o The Nation.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN & ADULTS, Inc., Chicago 3, Ill.

Letters to the Editors

Education for Values

Dear Sirs: One does not have to be a Catholic to find objectionable the sentence from the Board of Education report cited in your editorial entitled Return to Scholasticism? (*The Nation,* March 3). I hold no brief for scholasticism, although many crimes have been committed in the name of opposition to it. But it seems rather damning to praise the "current philosophy of education" because it has adopted a "scientific view of man and society" when we are looking to education to remedy the admitted moral defects of our society. Frankly, I think there is as much danger to education for democracy in this "scientific view" as there is in the dictatorship of the Vatican.

The notion that "democratic" and "scientific" can be used in the same frame of reference is in itself unscientific. Education is inevitably conducted in the framework of human values. Science may examine the basis of those values from the standpoint of efficiency or consistency; it may describe them. But it cannot, without going outside itself, replace them. Education had better learn what science can and cannot do.

There is much discussion of values in contemporary educational theory; they are bandied about almost as much as I bandy them here. But to talk to a typical educationalist today is to find that the essential mystery, poetry, and art of man are lost in the shadows of scientific technique.

The terms of this argument could be spelled out more ably than I can do it in this space by your own Joseph Wood Krutch or by Lionel Trilling. In his article on Sinclair Lewis (*The Nation,* February 24) Krutch distinguishes between the author who achieves the typical and the author who achieves the symbolic. Science will have us concentrate on the typical, but man is a symbol-making animal. The difference between the mathematical and the artistic symbol is the measure of the distance by which a merely scientific education will fall short of what we need to produce in a world where democracy can live.

What we need is a "third force" in American education, a critique of both scholasticism and the scientific technique. FREDERIC E. PAMP, JR.

Glen Ridge, N. J., March 5

Blasphemy Denied

Dear Sirs: The Nation is to be congratulated for the fine articles by Gilbert Seldes (February 3 and 10) on "The Miracle" controversy, and for publishing the letter from Victor Paget (February 17) quoting Doctor Johnson's definition of what is obscene. To many minds "The Miracle" suggested beauty and compassion. Blasphemy and vulgarity were reflected in the comments of those who condemned it.

EDITH WARNER

New York, March 1

Cult or Science?

Dear Sirs: I should like to make one further comment on Mr. Dobyn's letter denouncing my review of Hortense Powdermaker's book "Hollywood, the Dream Factory" as an insult to the whole anthropological profession. There has come to my attention a professional opinion of the book which is, I think, of interest. Robert Bierstedt, reviewing the book in the February, 1951, issue of the *American Sociological Review,* writes as follows:

Its publication is a disservice to American social science, and especially to anthropology. It will increase the suspicion of those who view anthropology as more of a cult than a science. And it will strengthen the skepticism of those who view anthropologists themselves as people who use more magic than do the primitives they purport to study.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

Cambridge, Mass., February 24

THE *Nation* with

Harper's Magazine . . . $9.50
You save $2.50

Consumers Reports . . . $10.75
You save $1.25

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Canadian and foreign postage extra.

THE NATION *by itself*

1 Year $7 2 Years $12
3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE:
$5 a Year

Canadian and Foreign Postage, $1 a Year Extra

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Money-Saving
Magazine Combinations

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Sirs:
I want to subscribe to *The Nation,* or the following *Nation* magazine combinations as listed below:

_____

_____

_____

☐ Remittance enclosed ☐ Bill me

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

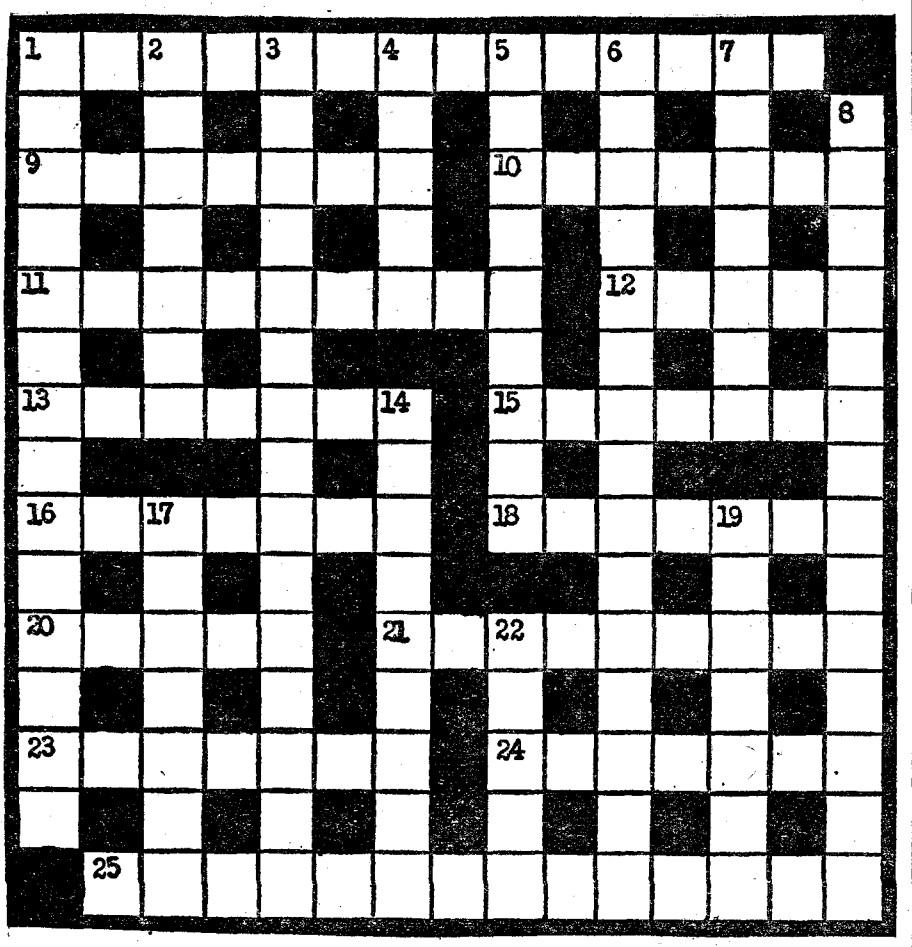
CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

3/17/51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 404

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Amphora, against which one might find a series of illusions. (14)
9 The height of dumbness! (7)
10 Olivia and Viola appeared in such a night. (7)
11 An article taken out of uranium to tell if you need another element. (9)
12 A check given on account, perhaps. (5)
13 The ties one has with the British people? (7)
15 One who stacks cowhide on horse-hide. (7)
16 Early channel swimmer. (7)
18 What speaks the *Lion of Judah?* (7)
20 Suggest itself in thought. (5)
21 Disguised in the garb of aspiration. (9)
23 Abstract. (7)
24 Most of all a Nero might be a plainsman. (7)
25 Off and on. (14)

DOWN

1 A useful card, but personally I have no use for one. (9, 5)
2 Drama by Racine, music by Mendelssohn. (7)
3 The sort of joint one gave ground to. (6, 3, 6)
4 A ship, probably a man of war. (5)
5 Plant that looks like a sort of miter found in another continent. (9)
6 Such a suit is easily pressed. (4-3-4, 4)
7 Faithless one! (7)
8 Questioning the fare to Paradise? (4, 5, 5)
14 The bucket brigade? (5, 4)
17 Game one approaches with a sort of wariness? (7)
19 Covering the ruins of a minaret. (7)
22 The reputation of Alec Lathram. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 403

ACROSS:—1 PEPPER-AND-SALT; 9 and 10 RIGHT-ABOUT-FACE; 11 LEAVENS; 12 HOODLUM; 13 NOISE; 14 HAIR-SHIRT; 16 CANOEISTS; 18 CABAL; 19 MANX CAT; 21 FURLONG; 22 NEWCASTLE; 23 ELLIS; 24 SUPERSTITIONS.

DOWN:—1 PORTLAND CEMENT; 2 PYGMALION; 3 EXTREME; 4 AMASS; 5 DROSHKIES; 6 ACTIONS; 7 TRAIL; 8 DERMATOLOGISTS; 14 HESITATOR; 15 IMBROGLIO; 17 ENCLASP; 18 CORRECT; 20 NEWTS; 21 FLEET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Beautiful HARBOR HILL
COLD SPRING-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK
The country Inn you've dreamed of finding. Beauty. Peace. Good Food. Good Talk.
HONEYMOONER'S PARADISE!
4 Stone Cottages. Open Fires. Ice Box Raids.
50 miles N. Y. Circulars. Tel: Cold Spring 5-2174

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 820
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings, roaring fireplaces. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

WINTER VACATION NEARBY
A gay Winter Holiday awaits you at Forest House. All sports in a winter wonderland. New Ski-Tow nearby. Fine cuisine, excellent accommodations, warm hospitality.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3688

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
that's EASTER at the Glenmere!
join wonderful people!
the Glenmere
Chester, N.Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: CHester 200 N.Y.: REctor 2-5047

FURNISHED ROOMS

THE ARIZONA, 508 West 114th Street (opposite Columbia University). Fireproof. Singles and doubles. Weekly and daily rates. Hotel, switchboard service.

FARMS & ACREAGE

ABANDONED 135-ACRE FARM. A rare find in an unspoiled 7-room colonial needing some repairs and modernization. Specimen oak and maple shade, small vineyard, view, brook. New York State, 12 miles from Tanglewood, 3 miles to Crystal mountain lake. Quick sale $5000. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

FINANCING

FINANCING—
We will provide temporary or permanent financing of $500,000.00 or upwards for large, established industrial enterprises.
L. N. Rosenbaum & Son
Financing & Reorganizations
565 Fifth Avenue
New York 17

Classified Advertising Rates
74¢ A LINE (SIX WORDS)
Minimum three lines
Box No. counted as three words
Remittance must accompany all orders
THE NATION
20 Vesey St. • New York City 7 • BA 7-1066

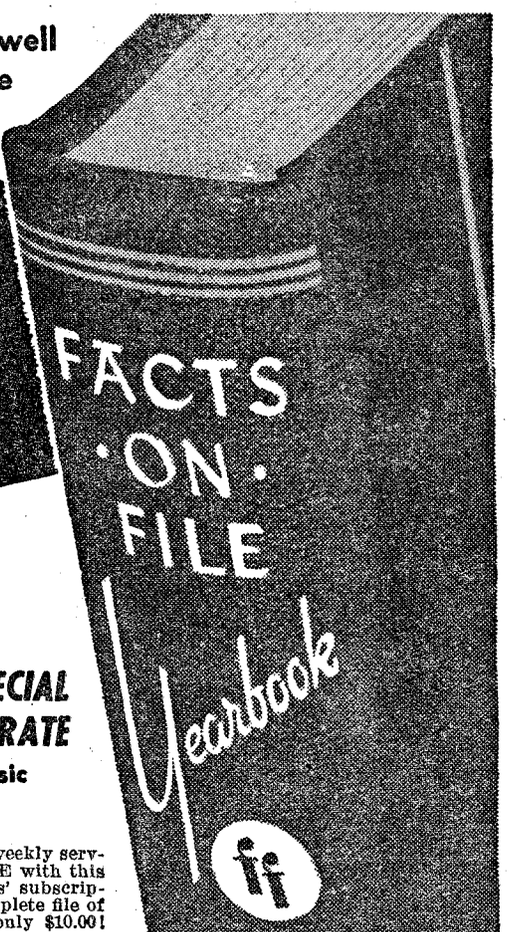
Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If accurate news is important to you . . . If you need to keep well informed . . . If you require facts at your fingertips, then take immediate advantage of this unusual offer . . .

FREE

This Complete Summary of the Important News of Eventful 1950



WITH A COMPLETE FILE OF 1951 WEEKLY ISSUES TO DATE—*plus* 8 WEEKS' TRIAL SUBSCRIPTION TO

FACTS ON FILE *AT THIS SPECIAL REDUCED RATE*

the famous weekly service supplying in 25-35 minutes all the basic news facts in 8 major fields, digested from leading publications

THROW away those clippings, newspapers, magazines and news reports that are cluttering up your work space! NOW . . . here's the *complete record* of 1950—the essence of the news from the whole world's newspapers, periodicals and press releases—*all between two covers!* Yes, here's everything you'll ever want to know about the Korean war . . . the international and national political events . . . the vital scientific discoveries . . . the important financial reports and statistics . . . the significant religious and educational news . . . what happened in sports . . . a list of every new play and important book and movie . . . a note on all the famous people in the news. ALL THE NEWS in every major field of human activity!

Used by Virtually Every Leading University and Library in the English-Speaking World

FACTS ON FILE's veteran editors digested 4,124 newspapers, the year's crop of hundreds of magazines, all the news sources there are to prepare this volume. The News Section alone of the 1950 FOF YEARBOOK totals 424 pages containing 636,000 words—equal to 6 regular books. The Index totals over 110 pages, containing 14,560 names of people, countries and subjects. Here, in fact, is your complete, unbiased News Library, prepared so that you can pinpoint any major news event which happened anywhere, at any time during the last year, *in seconds!*

A Volume for Your Permanent Library

Your 1950 FOF YEARBOOK is bound in beautiful buckram for a lifetime of use. It weighs 3¼ pounds, and the actual size is 9" x 11"! The cost is $25.00, but because the YEARBOOK is so valuable when used with our current weekly service, we want to give you a copy FREE with this unusual, *first-time* offer of an 8 weeks' subscription to FACTS ON FILE—plus a complete file of all 1951 weekly issues to date—for only $10.00!

Send for Your FREE Copy Today

Just mail the coupon below. Then, every Friday night for the next 2 months, we'll send you FACTS ON FILE with its complete, cross-indexed summary of the current week's news through Thursday night. This is the famous FACTS ON FILE service—25-35 minutes' reading presenting all the significant news facts in the fields of World, National and Foreign Affairs • Latin America • Finance and Economics • Arts and Sciences • Education and Religion • Sports • Obituaries • Books and Plays. That's 11,000 words per issue of FACTS ON FILE, condensed from 1,100,000 words of news!

The regular cost of the FACTS ON FILE service for 2 months (with the De-Luxe Spring Binder we will furnish you) is $8.20; the price of 3 months' back issues is $13.80; the price of the YEARBOOK is $25.00. This adds up to $47.00, but you may have the 2 months' service, your YEARBOOK and complete file of 1951 back issues *for only $10.00.* And even your $10.00 will be refunded in full if within the first 30 days you do not find FACTS ON FILE the most useful reference service you ever dreamed of! *But don't wait*; the number of YEARBOOKS we have reserved for this unique demonstration offer is limited. Mail the coupon at the right today!

REGULARLY PRICED AT $25 BUT YOURS FREE WITH THIS OFFER

Accuracy and Reliability Are Guaranteed by This Distinguished FOF Advisory Board

HISTORY *John Gunther,* noted reporter and author
LETTERS *Dr. A. J. Barnouw,* Columbia Univ.
MEDICINE *Dr. Edward C. Brenner,* Form. Columbia
POLITICS *Dr. Francis W. Coker,* Yale Univ.
ECONOMICS *Dr. J. A. De Haas,* Claremont College
SCIENCE *David Dietz,* Scripps-Howard Editor
EDUCATION *Dr. Harry D. Gideonse,* Pres., Brklyn. Coll.
NEWS ANALYSIS *H. V. Kaltenborn,* News Commentator
WORLD AFFAIRS *William L. Shirer,* author
LAW *Dr. Frank Sommer,* Form. N.Y.U.
LATIN AMERICA *Dr. Frank Tannenbaum,* Columbia
LIBRARY SERV. *Dr. C. C. Williamson,* Columbia

JOIN THESE TYPICAL FACTS ON FILE SUBSCRIBERS

CORPORATIONS
Standard Oil • I. B. M. Du Pont • Westinghouse General Motors • Ford General Electric

AD AGENCIES
Young & Rubicam B. B. D. & O. Campbell-Ewald

RADIO AND TV NETWORKS
ABC, CBS, NBC, MBS, BBC, CBC

MISCELLANEOUS
United Nations • Atomic Energy Comm. • F.B.I. • 102 Army, Navy and Air Force Installations

MAIL THIS COUPON FOR YOUR FREE 1950 FOF YEARBOOK

FACTS ON FILE Dept. 1-3
516 5th Ave., New York 18, N. Y.

For the next 8 weeks please send me the full FACTS ON FILE service consisting of your weekly news summary and indexes, plus a De-Luxe Spring Binder. Also include FREE my 1950 YEARBOOK, plus a complete file of 1951 weekly issues to date . . . all for only $10.00. If I am not completely satisfied after the first 30 days, I may return all material and my $10.00 will be refunded in full.

☐ I enclose $10.00 ☐ Bill me

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State____

FACTS ON FILE, 516 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED